6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

592 their new quarters was exactly like the one in which they had previously lived, and they found themselves again in the midst of many fellow clansmen, their "brothers" and "fathers." The village economy, which will be discussed below, necessitated no great personal readaptation nor did it require extensive retraining. If the newly-wed man was of the same village, it was not even necessary for him to move his hammock. He brought his game to a different house and he had open rights to his bride (with whom he probably had been covertly consorting). At present, the majority of the men of each Mundurucú village were born in other villages and there is no reason to believe that this was different in the nineteenth century. Although a young man might be expected [582] to mate with an eligible girl of his own village, patterns of preferential cross-cousin marriage apparently outweighed the factor of physical proximity. It was also the custom for a young man of marriage age to visit a number of villages in search of a mate. Whether or not the residents of the village men's house were native to the community, the institution served to integrate the men as a group which functioned as an economic unit in times of peace and a military organization during the frequent wars.

476 The basic male work unit consisted of all the males in the village. There was no task of any importance in which the men of one dwelling house, i.e., the house in which their wives resided, usually worked as a productive unit. Large, all-village communal hunts were common, and game was tracked down and surrounded or ambushed with the help of dogs. These collective techniques were especially important when hunting the large, migratory herds of wild pig, the main meat supply. Frequently, smaller groups of men pursued the chase, but there was no invariable tendency for these parties to consist of the men of a single household. Members of all households might be numbered in each of several small hunting parties.

241 476 Garden clearing was always done by a work group of all the village men, and it was considered a serious breach of etiquette for a man to refuse to co-operate. The subsequent planting of manioc shoots involved considerable labor, and all the village men and women performed this labor for each garden in turn. The rest of the planting and all of the harvesting and processing [831] was left to the women. Occasionally, a couple went to the garden alone, but these excursions were looked upon as romantic jaunts.

476 [423] Although there was no ownership of the forest land, the completed gardens were "owned" by individual men. However, all labor performed upon them was done by the men of the village as a whole, and by the women of the household in which the owner's wife lived. Also, food sharing was extensive. The products of the hunt were divided equally and distributed throughout the village, and, furthermore, each household provided a share of the food consumed in the men's house.

476 621 Due to the high degree of co-operation between all the men of the village, the newly-wed male did not become integrated into a household-oriented economy. This undoubtedly served to ease any strains in adjusting to a new village, for, in terms of kinship, the group of village males was substantially

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

NOTES

[1] The field research on which this paper is based was supported by a Research Training Fellowship granted by the Social Science Research Council and by the William Bayard Cutting Travelling Fellowship awarded through the Trustees of Columbia University.

The writer's wife, Yolanda Murphy, co-operated in all phases of the collection and evaluation of the field data. Drs. Fred Eggan, A. L. Kroeber, George P. Murdock, Julian Steward, and Charles Wagley read and commented upon this paper, and the author wishes to express his gratitude for their aid and interest.

[2] For the purposes of this paper the spelling of Mundurucú words is a simple Anglicization, except in the following cases: i and u have the phonetic values of Spanish i and u; ö is pronounced as in German; ĩ and ũ are nasal sounds.

[3] The identical marriage practices have been found in South America in bilateral societies having an essentially Dakota type kinship system. The difference between these cases and the Mundurucú seems to be most simply explained as a function of the line through which relationship is traced. A bilateral system would probably emphasize cross-cousin marriage, while sister's daughter marriage would be more clearly indicated in a patrilineal organization. Data on referential systems is, unfortunately, generally omitted or not clearly distinguished from the vocative system in the literature, and it is therefore difficult to analyze the terminology by the method followed herein.

[4] The trumpets are long hollow cylinders with reeds inserted in the mouth. The vibrations of the reeds emerge from the trumpet, essentially an echo chamber, as a deep reverberating sound. The instruments have a phallic symbolism which is evident when considered in connection with the associated legend. That the symbolic association between the genitalia and male dominance is not too remote in the male subconscious is suggested by the informant who, when asked how the Mundurucú "tame their women," replied "with the banana." These comments do not mean that I propose a psychological explanation of this complex. It merely indicates the deep interaction between culture and personality, structurally viewed. For our present purpose, it is preferable to view the complex as an integral part of the sociocultural structure.

[5] The reader will note that this is a somewhat different concept than the usual generalized statement of 'increase in the economic importance' of women. Eggan (1950:131) views the continuance of matrilocality among the Hopi in much the same light.

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12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

534 complied under the condition that they could occupy the
562 men's house and play the trumpets there. The men ac-
773 ceded, and the women, their position supernaturally re-
778 inforced by the instruments, assumed the roles of men. The latter drew water, chopped firewood, and made *beijú* (the flat manioc flour cake), just as the women do now. And throughout the night the women left their hammocks in the *ekaé* and went to the dwelling houses, where they forced the men to have coitus regardless of their desires, just as the men do to the women today. The women could not hunt, however, and were thus unable to feed the trumpets properly; they were therefore forced to relinquish them to the men. Since that time, the men have jealously guarded the instruments even from the sight of the females, lest they again assume dominance.

534 Their role of hunters, and their special relationship to
562 the karökö is one of the social charters of male superordi-
778 nation. Beyond this, one can discern the outlines of the
831 classical castration-anxiety theme. The trumpets are unmistakably phallic in design (as are bull roarers), and when the women owned them they usurped male roles, including the significant one of the aggressive part in sexual relations. The men accomplished a counterrevolution, but their manhood is still threatened. This appears in the occasional appearance of the vagina-dentata motif, such as in humorous references to the female organ as the "crocodile's mouth." Moreover, a punishment exists for women who spy upon the karökö, although nobody can remember this ever to have happened. The punishment is perfectly [688] symbolic; the guilty woman is gang-raped by all the men of the village. Thus, the position of the male is symbolized and reinforced by the trumpets, and threats to this position are coped with by an act of phallic sadism. This conclusion may seem to be based on an inferential analysis,

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

but the Mundurucú themselves, openly, consciously, and with no little amusement say also that they discipline their women with the penis.

The punishment of a woman for spying on the karökö is no doubt a rarity, but the penalty is occasionally meted for offenses of a related nature. Adultery is fairly common among the Mundurucú, but it usually is instigated by the male. Because of the inequality implicit in their roles, a lone woman generally finds it difficult to resist the determined advances of a man; her chief protection is the constant company of other women. But if the woman frequently and deliberately leaves the village alone, she is considered to be desirous of sexual relations and therefore fair game—this is a generally correct conclusion on the part of the men. Such a female is tolerated, indeed welcomed, by the men, but if her promiscuity becomes flagrant and if she takes the initiative in liaisons, she becomes a threat to the men. In effect, she usurps the male role. At this point, the men await an opportunity and then gang-rape her. Any woman who departs from her ascribed social role, or who even forsakes the protection of the men responsible for her well-being, may also be so punished. Adolescent girls who run away from the school conducted by the Cururú Mission, for example, are frequently apprehended in their flight and raped. All men join in on these occasions, without recognition of clan or moiety affiliations to their victim. One case was related in which a true parallel cousin took part in the rape of a girl who had fled the mission. At the conclusion of the act, he brought her back to the priests with appropriate and sanctimonious comments on the problem of wayward girls.

The sexes, among the Mundurucú, constitute self-conscious social groups. Mundurucú generally relax in the company of members of their own sex and sit apart at